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### BOSTON UNIVERSITY GRADUATE SCHOOL

Thesis

## THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE IDEA OF IMMORTALITY AND RESURRECTION IN THE OLD TESTAMENT

Submitted by
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(A.B., Syracuse University, 1928)

In partial fulfilment of requirements for the degree of Master of Arts

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### THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE IDEA OF IMMORTALITY AND RESURRECTION IN THE OLD TESTAMENT

#### Chapter I.

#### RELIGION of the EARLY HEBREWS

#### A. The Contribution of Semitic Animism and Ancestor Worship:

The religious beliefs of the Semitic race preceding the early Hebrews are regarded as having been largely animistic in character. These peoples maintained a strong interest in the spirits of deceased ancestors. The interest and veneration displayed in this connection developed into a system, or systems, of Ancestor Worship. Animism is in itself the belief in the activity of the spirits of relatives who have recently become deceased. Ancestor worship appears to regard the departed as in some sense still alive: "They shared in all the vicissitudes of their posterity, and possessed superhuman powers to benefit or injure. " To these lingering spirits the surviving members of the family offered sacrifices. Here the son and heir of the deceased played an important part. If a man died leaving no male offspring the difficulty might be overcome by the adoption of a son, who on being adopted would take upon himself all of the obligations attached to a legitimate male heir. The influence of this custom is expressed as late as the time of Abraham; Eliezer

<sup>1.</sup> Encyl. Biblica, Vol. II, Article "Eschatology", p. 1336.

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### A. The Contribution of Semilie Animies are Animeter were

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being considered as the heir of Abraham in the event of Abraham having no son (Gen.15:2 f.).

An argument considered to be strongly in favor of the prevalence of Ancestor Worship, shading over into the customs of the early Hebrews, is that based upon the existence of the levirate marriage (Deut. 25:5 ff.). The aim of this practice was to provide a successor for the deceased who possessed no male heir. The custom seems to be presupposed in Gen. 38:8 ff.; and in Gen. 38:26 "this law appears to be assumed as in force."

The worship of the Teraphim argues strongly in favor of Ancestor Worship (Ex.21:2-6). The Teraphim may have been household gods probably images of the ancestors. Professor Charles says, "The teraphim mentioned in Gen. 35:4 were clearly gods."

This conclusion appears doubtful. The data here is not sufficient for such a positive conclusion.

Burial of the departed was of very great importance. The deceased must be interred in the family grave. Hence the statement that a man was gathered unto his fathers (Gen.15:15; Judg.2:10). The departed must be placed in the society of his ancestors. In this connection another suggestion of Ancestor Worship among the early Hebrews may be derived from the apparent importance attached to them (Gen.23:3 ff; 25:9; 35:29; 49:29 ff.; 50:12 f.).

<sup>1.</sup> Encyl. Biblica, Vol. II, Article "Eschatology", p.1138.

<sup>2.</sup> Charles, R. H. - A Critical Study of the Doctrine of a Future Life, p.21.

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It is evident that the early Semites believed that the spirits of the dead retained in large measure their former intellectual powers. They also believed in the acquisition of new and superhuman powers by disembodied spirits. They could move at will from place to place, and could take possession of inanimate objects and use these as they would their own bodies. Among the Arabs, a heap of stones, or a standing stone, was believed to be occupied by the dead just as similar stones in the sanctuaries were occupied by the gods. The Babylonians provided statues at the entrances to temples and houses as residences for the ghosts. Spirits could also take possession of living men. The Babylonians also believed that the troubled ghost of the unburied, or of one who had died an unnatural death, might enter the body of any person with whom it had established chance relations in life, and then might cause disease and pain. Among the Arabs the soul of a murdered man was believed to thirst for the blood of his slayer. The Babylonian ghosts frequently appeared in houses and omens were drawn from these manifestations.

The Semites agreed with other primitive peoples in thinking that with the loss of the body the soul lost many of its powers. Disembodied spirits were conceived as feeble, intangible beings, bereft of the sense perceptions which belonged to the physical organism. The names "breath", "wind", "shadow", "echo", that were applied to ghosts suggested their

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ethereal nature. The disembodied spirit was believed to maintain a relationship, with its dead body, to the degree that the corpse or the grave continued to be the chief seat of its activity.

In Arabia the name "hama" (skull) applied to the departed indicates that they were associated with their mortal remains. Many of the "Jinn" lived in graveyards or in regions where all the inhabitants have died. They loved decay and foul smells. Without burial the spirits of the dead could not rest. Among the numerous classes of evil spirits in Babylonia none were more dreaded than ghosts of the unburied. By both Babylonians and Assyrians burial was refused to enemies; the dead bodies were cast put to be devoured by beasts and birds. Among the Arabs burial was a necessity without which the spirit could not rest. Cremation was considered no less dreadful than the burning of the living body. Burial was the universal Semitic custom. The Arabs broke the cooking-pot and dishes of the deceased, and his cemel was lamed and tethered near the grave to die of starvation.

The belief that spirits of the dead could be called up by magic arts to assist the living, or to reveal the future, was held in common by many ancient peoples. The Arab magician had his "follower" and his "familiar spirit". In Babylonia "raiser of the departed spirit" was the standing title of the necromancer. Saul, the Israelite, in a much weakened condition

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and in a desperate situation sought a woman with a "familiar spirit." (I Sam.28:7). Here the ghost of Samuel was raised up possessing the characteristics and form by which he was known in life. In the nature of the case the woman recognized the ghost of Samuel but failed to know Saul.

In Babylonia and Assyria the activity of spirits of the dead was entirely maleficent. They came forth from the grave to kill and to destroy. Offerings were made at their tombs in an attempt to cause them to refrain from harm. Positive good was never expected from them.

The early Hebrews, like other Semites, believed that ghosts, like gods, could take possession of stones or images.

Heaps of stones were placed over the graves of Achan(Josh.7:26) and Absolom (II Sam.18:17) that their ghosts might remain in them and trouble Israel no longer. Of the idea that spirits could take possession of men, causing disease, insanity, or inspiration, a survival is seen among the Hebrews in the fact that disease such as leprosy rendered one ceremonically unclean(Num.5:2; II K.7:3). The dead were believed to retain the semblance of their former bodies, and to be able to appear not only to one another but also to the living (Is.14:9 ff; I Sam.28:14).

The mourning customs in Israel are also in accordance with the idea of surviving elements of Ancestor Worship. Reverence for the dead is indicated, and a dependent attitude toward the dead is suggested in the mourner girting himself with

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sackcloth. (I Kings 20:31; II Sam. 3:31; Is.3:24; 15:3; 22:12; Jer. 6:26). The sackcloth was also laid on the loins (Gen. 37:34; Jer. 48:37). This sackcloth custom suggests a submissive attitude on the part of the living in honor of a superior dead. In II Sam. 15:30 and Ezek. 24:17 the mourner removed his shoes as in approaching a holy place of worship (cf. Exod. 3:5,6). The holy place is connected with the dead. It was also a custom that mourners would cut off their hair. (Is. 22:12; Jer. 7:29; Mic. 1:16; Ezek.7:18; 27:31). Beards were removed (Jer. 41:5); and baldness between the eyes was a feature (Deut. 14:1,2). A still more drastic operation was the practice of cutting the flesh in the event of a member of the family becoming deceased. This rite was forbidden later by Hebrew law. (Deut.14:1; Lev. 19:28). By these practices mourners believed that they were displaying reverence for the dead.

#### B. The Idea of Man:

The religion of the early Hebrews developed in later Israel became decidedly theocentric; not anthropocentric.

Nevertheless, in the Old Testament there is large survival of primitive ideas regarding man.

The early Hebfews naturally would recognize a distinct difference between a dead and a living man. When a man became deceased obviously something had gone out of him.

escention. (I make 00:31; 11 sem, 3:31; le.3.:4; 10:3; 52:18; et. 6:36). The saskaloth make the laid on the laids (cen. 7:34; ist 48:37). This saskaloth makes suggests a sub- 12:34; attitude on the past of the living in nonce of a superior dead. In 11 cam, 10:30 and sack, 54:17 the mourner removes his saces as in appropriate a subg place of worthin 13. Inc. 5:3,6). The moly chang to properted with the dead if were also a trained that retrains would out off their hair (if we also a trained (if also a trained a trained a trained a trained a trained a trained (if also a trained and a trained a

#### E. The Lies of Man:

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Novertheless, in the Mid Sestament there is large survival of relative thems regarding nam.

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This something in its passing left the physical organism senseless and cold. A dead body never breathed -- the breath (ruach), or wind had departed. Thus the psychic element of man's nature was conceived to be breath or wind. The living man was the result of the union and harmonized integration of the dust of the earth (aphar) and the wind (ruach). Thus man's living body (basar) was conceived to be something more than a mere physical mechanism. In reality, it was considered to be infinitely more than the union of dust and wind; it was a new substance; it was a living soul (nephesh). This living soul was conscious; and consciousness would seem to be ascribed to the human body as a whole. The Hebrews possessed no direct knowledge of the nervous system. At the same time, however, there is a psychic aspect in the conception of a human being. Man sins (Eccl. 5:6); he trembles with fear (Psa. 119:120); he suffers (Eccl.11:10); he lives trustfully (Psa.16:9); he longs (Psa.63:1); and he sings for joy (Psa. 84:2). In a similar fashion psychic processes were carried on by individual sense-organs. The ear sought knowledge (Prov. 18:15); and bestowed blessings (Job 29:11). The eye was humble (Job 22:29), evil (Prov. 23:6), proud (Psa.131:1), and unsatisfied (Eccl. 1:8; Prov. 27:20). Also, the tongue framed deceits and devised mischiefs (Psa.50:19; 52:2). very close connection between the physical and psychical

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was maintained. So intimate an association was believed to exist between the physiological and psychological that many ancient peoples believed that to eat the flesh of an animal or man would give to the eater the intellectual and moral qualities of the animal which he had eaten.

The center of the conscious life of the Hebrew was the "heart". From this central position the intellectual and some emotional aspects of man's nature were generated. The Deuteronomic writer expresses the thought of the complete personality of the man when he says "Thou shalt love Yahweh thy God with all thy heart, with all thy 'nephesh' and with all thy might" (Deut.6: 5).

The Hebrew conception of soul and flesh was that they were very closely connected and at the same time considered separately. Flesh was used for food and sacrifice, and nowhere is it in itself considered to be evil. In Ezek. 36:26 flesh is held as a symbol of tenderness and sensitiveness. A clear distinction between flesh and spirit is made by Isaiah (Is.31:3). "The Hebrew 'nephesh' might originate in connection with the body and disappear with it, yet it was conceived of as a distinct substance or entity." In Exek.

The soul was rooted in "Ruach" or spirit, while the flesh had its origin in matter, or dust. At the same time it must be appreciated that the soul and flesh were not only associated but as has

<sup>1.</sup> Knudson, A.C .-- The Religious Teachings of the Old Test.p. 222.

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been noted, they were mutually dependent upon each other.

So far it has been assumed that man consists of two parts--body and soul. This dichotomous view existed only for a time. In the days of Moses, according to Old Testament tradition, that which gave man life was the breath of God (Gen. 2:7). This is at too early a period for any clear distinction between soul and spirit. The dichotomous view may have developed through Semitic heathenism; and persisted until the prophets began to fight it.

Trichotomy, a more complex view and considered as a later development than dichotomy, held that man consisted of three parts: besides the flesh there is "nephesh" and "ruach". Here soul and spirit are quite different. The difference becomes most evident at death when the soul, robbed of every vital function descends into Sheol and practically ceases to exist. The spirit does not die but merely leaves the body and returns to God who gave it. (Psalms 146:4). The exact difference between these two elements is not clearly determined. According to Professor Charles "In the account of the relation of 'soul' to 'body' and 'spirit' in Gen.2 f. the 'spirit' has become quite distinct from the 'soul' in essence and origin. It is the divine element in man. According to the older view the difference was one of function,

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hardly of essence, certainly not of origin. "1 Davidson in considering the subject matter of Gen. 2:7 says "All that seems in question here is just the giving of vitality to man. There seems no allusion to man's immaterial being, to his spiritual element. It is a picture of his endowment with vitality. Vitality is communicated by God, and he is here pictorially represented as communicating it by breathing into man's nostrils that breath which is the sign of life." Dean Knudson holds "that 'ruach' did not denote a third element in human nature, distinct from the 'nephesh,' is evident from the fact that it is often used synonymously with 'nephesh' as a designation both of the principle of vitality (Gen.6:17; 45:27; Judg.15:19: I Sam. 30:12; Ezek. 37:5; Psa. 104;29) and the resultant psychical life (Isa. 26:9; Exod. 28:3; Psa. 51;12; Judg.8:13; Isa. 19:14; Prov. 16:18)."

Besides their beliefs regarding "soul" and "spirit" the Hebrews held the "heart" (leb or lebab) to be closely associated with man's inner life. It might be noted that with the flowing out of a man's blood the life of the man at the same time disappeared. The heart was considered the central organ of the blood; therefore the heart and the life must be intimately related. Of course, no circulatory system of the blood

<sup>1.</sup> Charles, R. H.--Encl. Biblica, Vol. II, p. 1342.

<sup>2.</sup> Davidson, A. B. -- Theology of the Old Testament, p. 194.

<sup>3.</sup> Knudson, A.G .-- Religious Teaching of the Old Testament, p. 229.

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<sup>.</sup> Desiles, R. H. -- and. Siblien, Vol. 15, p. 1548.

E. Daylonder, A. D. -- Theology of the vir festment, (. 194. S. Anudson, A.G. -- Additions Separate of the vir Postenedt, p. 205.

was realized so the function of the heart was conceived to be that of consciousness as well as being the central organ of the blood. In this connection the intellectual and volitional processes of a man were believed to have their origin in the heart (Exod. 7:23,E; 28:3,P; Deut. 7:17; 4:9; I Sam. 2:35; I Kings 3:9; Hos. 7:11).

Human life, as far as we have gone, in the Old Tesament, is not purely materialisticly conceived. Man possesses a soul which, as we have seen, although materially conceived, possesses spiritual possibilities. A contrary position might hold that this "soul" disappeared and ceased to exist when the material body disappeared. This is true; but the general Hebrew conception was that the soul or spirit was decidedly different from its material basis to the degree that it was possible for it to become the organizing principle of a new life after death when once the deman for such a life arose. It must not be understood, in the light of these ideas, that the spiritual element in man was distinct from the physical. The "breath" and the "dust" were combined in making a human living soul which in itself was viewed as a unit; the spiritual and the physical were elements in one complete, unified, personal life.

As has already been intimated in reference to the "heart", the spiritual nature of man was considered to be closely associated with the blood. "The blood is the life

<sup>1.</sup> Knudson, A.C. -- Religious Teachings of the Old Test., p. 233.

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(nephesh)", (Deut.12:23) and "the life (nephesh) of the flesh is in the blood" (Lev.17:11). This life-blood conception, however, does not appear to have interfered with the spiritual capacity or function of the soul. The "nephesh" as it is found here in the Old Testament is employed with three fairly distinct meanings--the principle of life, the psychic and the personal. Psychic functions, it must be noted, are attributed to the flesh as well as to the soul; consequently the term "basar" as well as "nephesh" was used in referring to man's whole nature. There seems to be no attempt to qualify certain higher psychical activities to man's spiritual nature and certain lower activities to the flesh. On the contrary, at times high spiritual qualities are ascribed to the flesh (Psa. 63:1) while such sensations as sex desire (Gen.34:8) and physical hunger (Prov. 27:7) are assigned to the soul.

With the extinction of life the soul leaves the body (Gen. 35:18; I Kings 17:21; II Sam. 1:9; Johah 4:3). It was not necessary, however, for the soul to hurry in its flight, but it was generally conceived that the soul made a final departure when the body decomposed. Under certain circumstances the soul might remain in or near the body for a considerable time after death, as illustrated in a dead person being considered a soul (nephesh) (Lev.19:28; 21:1; 22:4; Num. 9:6,7,10; Hag. 2:13), or a "dead soul" (Num.6:6; Lev.21:2).

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A more satisfactory usage of the term would seem to be in a living man being called "a living soul" (Gen.2:7).

Burial was indispensable to an Israelite. If the deceased was to be at all comfortable he must be buried: consequently burial, including foes, was accorded to all deceased in Israel. (Deut. 21:22,23; Josh.7:24-26; Ezek. 39:12). To be allowed to remain unburied was considered a real tragedy; this was the awful punishment meted out to Jezebel (IIKings 9:10). The enemies of Yahweh, slain by Him, shall be neither mourned nor buried (Jer. 25:33). Explanations for the idea of the great horror of being left unburied are offered by Prof. R. H. Charles. He says: "It may be explained on two grounds: (1) In earlier times no sacrifices could be offered to the dead unless they had received burial. Sacrifices were offered at the grave; for the grave was in some measure the temple in Ancestor Worship. (2) The soul was conceived as connected with the body even after death. Hence every outrage to the dead body was also an outrage to the departed soul".1

In Israel a man was not only buried but he was buried with his ancestors; he was literally gathered unto his fathers (Gen. 15:15; Judg. 2:10). It would seem that the desire was to be interred with the father and mother (II Sam. 17:23; 19:38). To be denied the family grave would react as condemnation (I Kings 13:22). Jacob and Joseph desire to be

<sup>1.</sup> Charles, R. H. -- Critical History of the Doctrine of a Future Life, p. 32.

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taken back home for purpose of burial with the family.

(Gen. 47:30; 50:25; Exod. 13:19). It appears evident that during a certain period the family burying ground was within the house. Samuel was buried in his own house (I Sam. 25:1). And Joab was buried in his own house in the desert. (I Kings 2:34). Through the course of time the family lost much of its singularity through the increased emphasis on the clan and tribe and later the nation. With the new emphasis came a new conception which will be considered fully in the chapter on Sheol (chap.2).

## C. The Idea of God:

Yahweh was the god of Israel. To the mind of Pre-prophetic the/Israelite, Yahweh may be best understood as "Yahweh thy God who brought thee out of the land of Egypt" (Ex.20:2). Certainly the children of Israel had been delivered from Egyptian bondage through an act of deliverence which culminated in the crossing of the Red Sea with the destruction of the Egyptian warriors and the sustenance of life at Horab and vicinity. Moses proclaimed Yahweh to be the God of Israel; and because of what He had done He became their God and they became His people. Yahweh was no abstract idea; he was a personal helper. Because of this recognized personal interest which Yahweh had displayed he possessed the sole

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right of demanding the worship and obedience of the people of Israel. So it is that the first appearance of Yahweh in the literature of Israel is that of a God who gave to Israel victory over other peoples.

The Hebrew names of their God Yahweh tell little about him. Etymologies tell little; and modern scholarship is fairly well agreed in accepting the idea that very little is known concerning the early Hebrew names for God. It is characteristic of the "J" writer in Genesis to use the name "Yahweh" from the creation onward. No Old Testament information is available to support the idea of pre-Mosaic use of the name Yahweh. The name appears to have been "JHWH" to which vowels were later added. By marriage Moses became associated with the Kenites. A possible and probable assumption is that Yahweh was the God of the Kenites previous to becoming the God of Israel. This notion, however, gives no information pertaining to the pre-Mosaic conception of Yahweh.

The Hebrew religion of Mosaic days does not demonstrate Yahweh; it accepts him. In both Hebrew and Jewish thought as contained in the Old Testament the idea of Yahweh appears as being taken for granted. Even the Book of Job does not deny the existence of God; it simply denies His goodness. Yahweh was very powerful and ever stands ready to aid Israel. As displayed in the Song of Deborah (Judges 5) Yahweh becomes very

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active in warfare and either brings or sends the help necessary for the victory of Israel as evidenced in the victory over Egypt under Moses, the victory over the Midianites under the "Judges" and the overthrow of the Philistines under the leadership of David. Human beings appear only as agents under the direction of Yahweh.

Besides being very powerful, this God Yahweh, who by successive steps becomes god of mountain, country, nation, and the whole world, is endowed with a remarkable personality. "Behind the thunder which is His voice, the cloud which is His chariot, the hail and lightning which are His weapons, there stands a personal being whose thought, feelings and will are as real as those of men." In fact Yahweh acts very much like a man. He fashions man out of the dust of the earth (Gen. 2:7); He breathes breath into him (Gen. 2:7); He walks in the garden in the cool of the day(Gen. 3:8); He suspects the man and the woman (Gen. 3:9); and questions them in human fashion(Gen. 3:9), 11, 13); He "comes down" to see the tower which is being constructed; he scatters the workers, and He even repents that he has made man; He is pleased with the sweet smell of Noah's sacrifice, and promises that the flood experience will never be repeated. Through these crudely conceived anthropomorphisms clear down to the imageless shrine of the Holy of Holies, the personality of Yahwah shines forth in a manner different from that of any other known god and in a

<sup>1.</sup> Robinson, H.W. -- The Religious Ideas of the Old Test., p.61.

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It may be said that Yahweh was considered to be morally interested in the welfare of Israel. This interest began when the relationship between Yahweh and Israel came into being. It must not be taken for granted, however, that Yahweh always conducted himself in what may be termed an ethical manner. There are unintelligible moods and unethical traits which become very evident. Yahweh became the god of the nation Israel and as such personified the genius of his people, embracing both vice and virtue. If the conduct of an individual met with his disfavor he would not hesitate to kill, as is illustrated in the annihilation of Uzzah upon his touching the ark at the threshing.floor of Nacon (II Sam.6:6,7). Likewise the men of Beth Shemesh became the victims of the wrath of Yahweh for merely gazing curiously upon the ark (I Sam. 6:19). The enmity of Saul may be incited by Yahweh (I Sam. 26:19); Yahweh causes David to number the people and then punishes the people for the sin involved (II Sam. 24:1). Writing several centuries later pertaining to the numbering of the people the Chronicler sees fit to relieve Yahweh of all responsibility by laying the blame on Satan (I hron. 21:1): "and Satan stood up against Israel and moved David to number Israel." To the later prophets the apparent unethical attitude and conduct of Yahweh at times, is charged against the idea that the sin of the people kindled his wrath.

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moretly interested in the wellste of largel. This interest into being. It must not be taken for grantes, however, that Mill, as is illustrated in the annihilation of Dazah tpon mis teriging the arm of the threshings floor of decon (II when it is and Sile). The emily of manguey to include by Valmer (I sam. 26:15) Laters: partiew .(I'm men II) boviever mis one tot aligner by laying the black on datan [I "nrun. El:1]: has after stere the prople kindled his winth.

The moral relationship of Israel to Yahweh is like the friendship of two persons, one of whom is infinitely more powerful and influential than the other. As Yahweh became morally more significant, likewise the nation Israel developed morally. The later prophets display quite clearly the moralization process of their time; this is especially true of-Amos, Hosea and Isaiah. Each prophet, however, emphasizes a different relationship of the moral attitude. Amos Yahweh becomes a righteous sovereign (Amos 3:2) who calls forth condemnation upon Israel for the oppression of the poor (2:6,7; 5:11,12), for bribery and commercial dishonesty (8:4-6) and for idle self-indulgence (3:10, 12, 15; 4:1; 5:11; 6:4 f.). With this state of affairs existing, elaborate sanctuary worship was a mockery (4:4,5). A moral sovereign demands morality among his people (5:21-25). Amos conceives Yahweh to be not merely a righteous moral ruler but also a loving Father and Husband of Israel (11:1 f .; 2:16). The love of Yahweh for Israel seeks expression in the truest possible life; "I will betroth thee unto me in righteousness, and in judgment, and in loving-kindness, and in mercies. I will even betroth thee unto me in faithfulness, and thou shalt know Yahweh" (2:19, 20). Yahweh will take the child Israel in his arms, teach it to walk, and bear it up when it becomes weary (11:1-4), for without Yahweh the nation Israel

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will perish (4:6). It remains for Isaiah to attribute holiness to the moral conception of Yahweh. It was only after the ideas of the righteousness and love of Yahweh had been securely induced by Amos and Hosea that the new and lofty conception of holiness came to have meaning. At an earlier period holiness merely meant taboo, but now, built upon the righteous and loving moral character of Yahweh, holiness became the expression of the transcendent majesty of the Person of Yahweh.

The interests of Yahweh, the god of Israel, were closely identified with the interests of his people. It might come to pass that Yahweh would become temporarily estranged from his people, but He could never completely forsake them. It might seem to an onlooker that, when the nation Israel suffered reverses and defeats at the hands of enemies, Yahweh had forsaken his people; but not so; Yahweh was merely allowing an educative process to discipline this people by a didactic method. Among the heathen nations surrounding Israel the idea was held that the defeat of a people involved the defeat of their god. This conception did not hold with Israel. defeat of Israel was a part of Yahweh's method; at times it was necessary for the good of Israel and rather than lower the dignity of Yahweh it eventually exalted his purpose and displayed His profound interest. This conception holds in general but here and there the idea creeps in that Yahweh

will peried (4:6). It remains for leaded to studies notified to the moral acceptation of lawed. It was only after the trees of the rightmortuness and love of Names and been escursive induced by Amos and Mages that the new mon losty conception of moliness and or may menting. It an earlier pariod authorse merely meant takes, but now, built open the rightmore and lowing moral energets of Yearen, Apicance beased the expression of the transcendent anglesty of the arrow of Yearen.

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was a much better god while safe within the confines of His own territorial boundaries. He was much more liable to defeat when fighting with his people on the territory of another god.

The Ark of Yahweh is a fantastic conception of "P"; "this writer never saw a box used for the purpose of divination"1. Dr. Pfeiffer frequently stated in lecturing on "The Religious Teachings of the Old Testament". Nevertheless, the Ark is present in the Old Testament and may be given brief consideration for our immediate purpose. 2 According to "P" the Ark was made of acacia wood; was oblong -- two and one-half cubits in length, one and one-half cubits in breadth and one and one-half cubits in height. The box was overlaid with gold both inside and out; on the rim was a plate of pure gold from which there extended upward two golden cherubim whose wings extended over the Ark. From these cherubim Yahweh would communicate with Moses and reveal his plans for Israel (Ex.25:10-22; 37: 1-9). The Ark was taken to the field of battle where it represented the presence of Yahweh (I Sam. 4:3-11; 5:6; II Sam. 6:1-12). When the Israelites started out to battle carrying the Ark with them a prayer was offered "Rise up, Yahweh, and let thine enemies be scattered, and let them that hate thee flee before thee"; and upon

<sup>1.</sup> Class Notes.

<sup>2.</sup> See Arnold, W.R., "Ephod and Ark", for more complete description.

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<sup>1.</sup> Olsus Potes.

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the return from the fray -- "Return, O Yahweh unto the thousands of the thousands of Israel" (Num. 10:35,36). Later the Ark came to be represented as merely a convenient receptacle for the tables of stone on which the Decalogue was inscribed (Deut.10:1-5). It is of note that the fall of Jericho is made possible by the effect of the Ark being carried round and round the city (Josh.6:4f.). The Ark was taken along when the Israelites engage in war with the Philistines, and when the Ark is captured "the glory is departed from Israel" (I Sam.4). The Philistines learn by bitter experience, however, that the Ark exerts nothing but evil influence for them and they are glad to get rid of it. The men of Beth-shemesh "looked into the Ark of Yahweh" and a multitude of them were slaughtered. The Ark is then passed on to the men of another city with the words "who is able to stand before Yahweh, this Holy God?" (I Sam. 5:1-7:1). It is clearly evident that there is a physical contagion which is expressed by actual contact with this Ark.

In I Sam. 17:45, as David goes forth to meet

Goliath he declares that he proceeds "in the name of

Yahweh of Hosts, the God of the armies of Israel." This

conception undoubtedly comes to David through ideas com
monly held. As the head of the nation Yahweh was expected to

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Colimits he decisions that he proceeds "in the name of Yahmen of Marto, the God of the similes of larget." "Date consention undonshally comes to David through ideas commonly held. As the base of the antion Yahmah was expected to maintain Himself as a leader in battle, and nowhere in the early days is His presence felt so strongly as on the battle-field: He is "a man of war" (Exod. 15:3).

The enemies of Israel were the enemies of Yahweh (I Sam. 30:26), and Israel's wars were the wars of Yahweh (Num.21:14; I Sam.18:17). He is also the God of the armies of Israel (I Sam. 17:26, 36, 45).

A later conception, in the day of Amos, designates the previously considered God of Israel as "the Lord Yahweh", "the God of Hosts", and "Yahweh of Hosts". Pertaining to this conception of Yahweh Professor R. H. Charles says "Yahweh of Hosts means in the prophets, the Omnipotent, the Lord of the armies of heaven as well as of earth."

There still remains an important phase of the Hebrew idea of God; that of monotheism. This conception of Yahweh being the only God has a long period of development. In fact it is not until after the time of the prophets that Monotheistic Yahwehism becomes fully expressed. Back of the earliest monotheistic conception there lies a practical "henotheism". This is evident in the creation story of "J" where Yahweh is made the originator of all of life. The picture here is not perfectly clear, however, for Yahweh appears to move in nature rather than taking on a transcendent attitude. In the prophetic conception of

<sup>1.</sup> See Arnold, W.R. - Ephod and Ark.

<sup>2.</sup> Charles, R.H.--A Critical History of the Doctrine of a Future Life, note on p. 86.

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<sup>2.</sup> Ess Armois, W.H. - Ephod ond ork.
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Yahweh the prophets did not purpose to found a new religion; on the contrary they merely attempted to reform conditions and more decidedly call attention to the god of Moses. They emphasized the thought of the unique relationship existing between Yahweh and Israel because of what Yahweh had done for them in leading them out of bondage in Egypt. Under Canaanitish influence the bond existing between Yahweh and Israel had become considered as a natural relationship; for it was taken for granted that people and their god belonged together and could not exist apart from each other. On this point the prophets took the position that the condition existing between Yahweh and Israel was real but ethically conditioned. Israel was to serve the purpose of Yahweh and in this regard Israel was the chosen instrument for a definite purpose. With the further development of this idea Yahweh would hold His people responsible and if they did not measure up to the requirements they would be punished, even to the extent that Yahweh would employ Assyria as His agent for the purpose of destroying Israel if His desires were not attained (Is.10:5). Here it becomes evident that Yahweh can exist without Israel; and the conception of the national God of Israel emerges into the idea of Yahweh becoming the God of the whole earth.

According to generally accepted interpolations

(Amos 9:5,6)<sup>1</sup> Amos becomes largely responsible for the idea that Yahweh is the creator and sustainer of the whole world. All of the universe came ultimately within the grasp of Yahweh; nothing ould escape Him. "Though they dig into Sheol, thence shall my hand take them; and though they climb up into heaven, thence will I bring them down. And though they hide themselves in the top of Carmel I will search and take them out thence; and though they be hid from my sight in the bottom of the sea, thence will I command the serpent, and he shall bite them" (Amos 9:2,3). Amos also pictures Yahweh as the ruler of nations other than Israel. To one nation Yahweh says "Go" and to another "Come". (Amos 1:2 cf.9:7).

The classic formulae used in support of the idea of Israel's monotheistic conception is "Yahweh is our God, Yahweh alone". (Deut. 6:4). It should be noted here that regardless of whether this passage is translated as above or made to read "Yahweh is our God, Yahweh is one", the existence of other gods is admitted in the same Deuteronomistic passage (Deut. 6:14). It is not a pure monotheism that recognizes, even theoretically, the existence of other Gods.

The prophet Isaiah delights in the "Holy One of Israel" but surpasses his immediate predecessors by stating

<sup>1.</sup> See Driver, S.R.--An Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament, p. 318.

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that "Yahweh alone shall be exalted in that day. And the idols shall utterly pass away" (Is. 11:17,18). Deutero-Isaiah is full and complete in his assertion of monotheism. Yahweh as God, alone is the creator of everything, bad as well as good (Is. 43:10; 44:6; 45:7). Yahweh is the great resourceful life-giving stream to which all may freely come (Is. 55). Monotheism here stands out in bold relief, towering majestic against a skyline of polytheistic and henotheistic influences which through their existence had given rise to a monotheism sufficiently pure to become the pattern after which all future Israel might follow.

With the security of a thorough-going monotheistic conception the hope of Israel becomes enlarged in the thought that if Yahweh is the supreme Deity of the whole Universe then Sheol must come under His influence, and the possibility of a future life comes into being. To understand this possible future life, the place and condition of the spirits of the departed must receive careful attention. We now turn to a consideration of Sheol.

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Chapter II.

## SHEOL

The Old Testament contains not only ideas peculiar to Semitic peoples but also conceptions having their origin in Babylon. This is true concerning beliefs regarding the future life, and these have a very direct bearing on the question of the origin of Sheol. The pre-Semitic inhabitants had attained a high level of culture previous to the arrival of the Semites. These people had already outgrown the idea that the spirits of their ancestors dwelt in the family grave. "They conceived of the shades as dwelling together in a mighty realm, and as socially organized after the manner of an ancient Babylonian kingdom. "1 This realm was known as "Aralu". The common Hebrew word is "Sheol". Both Babylonians and Hebrews considered this abode of the "shades" as existing in the depths of the earth. This is evidenced by the fact that the departed is "brought down" or "goes down" to Sheol (Ps.28:1; 30:3; 88:4; 107:26; Is. 14:19; 38:18; Ezek. 26:20; 31:14; 32:18 f.). The man who becomes very ill but becomes well again is "brought up" from Sheol (I Sam. 2:6; Job 33:24; 28, 30; Ps. 9:13; 16:10; 30:3; 49:15; 86:13). In the case of Korah and his company they

<sup>1.</sup> Biblical World, Vol.35, 1910, article by Paton, L.B.
"The Hebrew Idea of the Future Life", p.159.

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"went down alive into Sheol" (Num. 16:30-33). Amos 9:2 mentions "digging into Sheol". Is.7:11 reports "going deep into Sheol". The shade speaks "deep from the earth" (Is.29:4), and "descends deep unto Sheol" (Is.57:9). Sheol is the "under part of the earth" (Ps.63:9; 139:15; Is. 44:23), and both Sheol and the "Pit" are "beneath" (Deut. 32:22; Ps. 88:6). Sheol is on a level lower than the foundations of the mountains (Deut. 32:22; Jonah 2:6). Below the earth there exists "waters under the earth" (Gen. 49:25; Exod. 20:14; Amos 7:4), but Sheol is below these (Job 26:5; Lam. 3:53; Jonah 2:3 f.). If something is very deep it is considered to be "deeper than Sheol" (Job 11:8), and the height of heaven is sometimes contrasted with the depth of Sheol (Job 11:8; Ps. 139:8; Is. 7:11; Amos 9:2). From these references it becomes evident that the Hebrews "regarded Sheol as a vast cavern under the ground: the subterranean counterpart of the space included between the earth and the celestial dome of the 'firmament'". 1

Entrance into Sheol might be gained through a gap in the earth (Num. 16:30-33), but the generally accepted entrance was through a gate in the western horizon. The celestial bodies traveled toward the west and with the sinking of the sun in the west the earth became dark.

<sup>1.</sup> Biblical World, Vol. 35,1910, article by L. B. Paton, "The Hebrew Idea of the Future Life", p.161.

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<sup>1.</sup> Diblical Sorld, Vol. 35,1810, artists by L. Eston.

Consequently the west came to be considered as the region of darkness and death, and the east was considered the region of light and life.

The earth was held to be as an island entirely surrounded by water. As a result of this the passing soul must cross the waters to arrive at the western gate. Hence "the waves of Death compassed me, the floods of Belial made me afraid, the cords of Sheol were round about me, the snares of Death came upon me" (II Sam. 22:5 f.). And "out of the belly of Sheol I cried----for thou didst cast me into the depth, into the heart of the seas, and the flood was round about me; all thy waves and thy billows passed over me.----The waters compassed me about, even to the soul; the deep was round about me; the weeds were wrapped about my head" (Jonah 2:2-5). In Deut. 30:12 f. "crossing the sea" is contrasted with "going up into heaven".

Sheol is divided into compartments. There are "chambers of death" (Prov. 7:27), and "recesses of the Pit" (Ezek. 32:23). Sheol has gates (Job 38:17; Ps.9:13;107:18; Is. 38:10), and bars (Job 17:16: Jonah 2:6). There also appear to be "gatekeepers of Sheol" (Job 38:17). Sheol and the grave appear to be interchangeable terms (Gen. 37:35; Ps. 88:3,5,11) probably due to the confusion of the idea of Sheol as a cosmological conception with the idea of the

Consequently the most came to be considered as a serious of durinosis and death, and the cast was considered the region of light and life.

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grave being the place of residence of the departed spirits. Consequently Sheol became pictured as a great bomb sufficiently large to contain all individual tombs. The capacity of Sheol was ample for the nations to lie in graves in the midst of Sheol (Ezek. 32:17-32).

Darkness, gloom and disorder prevail in Sheol. Hence it is "the land of darkness and of deep gloom, the land of thick darkness like darkness itself, the land of deep gloom without any order, and where the light is as darkness." (Job. 10:21 f). Sheol is also a place of dust (Job 7:21; 17:16; Is. 29:4). As a waiting monster ready to devour men Sheol anticipates their arrival (Isa.5:14; Hab. 2:5; Jonah 2:2; Prov. 1:12; 27:20; 30:15 f.). Death is pictured as the ruler of Sheol; "They are appointed as a flock for Sheol. Death shall be their shepherd" (Ps. 49:14); also in Job 18:14 "He shall be brought to the King of Terrors". Other demons of the underworld are "Belial" (Nah. 1:15; II Sam. 22:5), the "destroyer" (Exod.12:23), and the "destroyers" (Job 33:22). Diseases are seen as evil demons of Sheol: "Terrors shall make him afraid on every side, and shall chase him at his heels. His strength shall be hunger-bitten, and calamity shall be ready at his side. It shall devour the members of his body, yea the Firstborn of Death shall devour his members"

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(Job. 33:22). Also, in Hos. 13:14 "Shall I ransom them from the power of Sheol? Shall I redeem them from Death? Hither with thy plagues, O Death! Hither with thy pestilence, O Sheol!" In Ps. 116:3 "The pangs of Death compassed me, and the pains of Sheol got hold upon me." "The death-angels of later Judaism are simply the degraded gods of the underworld of an earlier period". Man sooner or later succumbs; the ancient Hebrew will "go the way of all the earth" (Josh. 23:14; I Kings 2:2). And Job says "I know that thou wilt bring me to Death, and to the house appointed for all the living" (Job 30:23).

The Old Testament recognizes a distinction among those who are in Sheol. In Ezek. 31:16 the kings of the earth are as "the trees of Eden, the choice and best of Lebanon, that drink water and are comforted in the nether parts of the earth". Both Ezek. (32:23) and Isaiah(14:15,19) speak of those who go down to "the recesses of the Pit", or the "stones of the Pit". It would appear that in both of these cases the sad fate is not due to sin, but has come as a result of being "cast forth from the sepulcher like an abominable branch---as a carcass trodden under foot."

"There is no trace in the Old Testament of a division of the dead on the basis of character." The sinner goes to

<sup>1.</sup> Biblical World, Vol. 35, 1910; article by Paton, L.B. "The Hebrew Idea of the Future Life", p. 165

<sup>2.</sup> Ibid, p. 168.

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Sheol for punishment; but he does not go to any particular section in Sheol (cf. Prov. 2:18; 21:16). Samuel who was a righteous man says to wicked Saul "To-morrow shalt thou and thy sons be with me" (I Sam. 28:19). It appears throughout the Old Testament that emphasis is being laid on the miserable condition of the shades rather than any distinctions which might exist between them. All men of all races dwell together in Sheol. (Isa. 14:9-23; Ezek. 32:18-32). "Then had I been at rest: with kings and counsellors of the earth who built tombs for themselves, or with princes that had gold, who filled their houses with silver; or as a hidden untimely birth I had not been: as infants which never saw light. There the wicked cease from troubling; and there the weary are at rest. There the prisoners are at ease together; they hear not the voice of the taskmaster. The small and the great are there; and the slave is free from his master. " (Job 3:13-19).

Life in Sheol was a shadowy existence; but apart from this, life went on below in a fashion similar to that of the upper-world. There was no return, however, from the land of the shades. The wise woman of Tekoah says "We must needs die, and are as water spilt on the ground, which cannot be gathered up again" (II Sam.14:14); and David says "I shall go to him, but he shall not return to me" (IISam.12:23).

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"As the cloud is consumed and vanisheth away, so he that goeth down to Sheol shall come up no more. He shall return no more to his house, neither shall his place know him any more" (Job 7:9 f.; cf. 10:21; 16:22; Eccles.12:5).

According to the Old Testament in cases of serious illness or unconsciousness, the soul would leave the body and linger between the body and Sheol in an apparent state of indecision and unrest. Thus Job states that "he is chastened with pain upon his bed, and with continual strife in his bones. His flesh is consumed away that it cannot be seen, and his bones that were not seen stick out. Yea, his soul draweth near unto the Pit, and his life to the Destroyers."(Job 33:19-22). Likewise in Ps. 88:3f. "My soul is full of troubles, and my life draweth near unto Sheol. I am counted with them that do down into the pit." Isaiah refers to Judah as half-dead and suggests that Yahweh will restore him to health and thereby bring him back from Sheol (Is.29:4).

All that we have found in this survey of Sheol with its shadowy inhabitants is merely a release from impending death. No doctrine of a resurrection appears anywhere so far, and there is no suggestion of a blessed immortality for a disembodied spirit.

In pre-exilic literature there are three cases

"As the sloud is concumed and remisheth exist, so he that no eth down to anoth come up no more. He shall retuin no more to his house, neither shall his pis se know him say more. If ob 7:9 f.; of. 10:21; 10:42; Asales.18:5).

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where the dead is restored to life. These cases are:

The raising of the widow's son by Elijah (I K.17:21ff);

the raising of the son of the Shunemite woman (II K. 4:32ff.);

and the raising of a dead man through contact with the

bones of Elisha (II K. 13:21). In each of these cases

the patient had just become apparently deceased and in

none of the cases had the body been buried. The question

may well be asked as to whether or not death had actually

taken place. The situation does not differ greatly from

cases of serious illness. In no case does pre-exilic

Old Testament literature record an instance where re
animation takes place after bodily decomposition has set

in.

The conception of Sheol as held by the Hebrews appears at a time following the conquest of Canaan and appears to have been acquired largely from Canaanitish conceptions. The Canaanites in turn give evidence of strong Babylonian influences. (For a complete description of Canaanitish and Babylonian conceptions and customs see "Spiritism and the Cult of the Dead in Antiquity" by L. B. Paton, MacMillan Co., N.Y. 1921).

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# Chapter III. ESCHATOLOGY of the NATION

The outlook for the future of Israel was not very bright. This is particularly true regarding the outlook of the individual in Israel. The best that has been secured for the individual up to this point is that he will, upon becoming deceased, pass into Sheol and there perpetuate a shadowy existence surrounded by dust and gloom.

In Job no argument is carried to the conclusion that a future life may be offered as retribution or reward. This points to the fact that even among the religious thinkers of Israel no doctrine of a future life had won acceptance. At the same time it must be appreciated that there is in Job an emphasis laid on the individual worth of a human life. The logical assumption would be that at some future time the wrongs which man had endured would be righted by Yahweh, whose power and influence was now conceived to be more than that of a national god. A glimmering anticipation of this idea appear in Job 14:1-15. May not man revive as a tree that is cut down? And may Sheol be perhaps only a temporary place of abode where man may remain in shelter until his God who was interested in him

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calls him to a renewed state? This attitude, however, does not prevail but lapses again into darkness and despair. An infinitely clearer conviction arises in 19:25-27: "But I know that my'Vindicator'liveth, and at the last he will appear above (my) grave: - - Without my body I shall see God: whom I shall see for myself, and my eyes shall behold and not another." Professor Charles holds this to be a reference to a future life but also states that "we cannot infer that this divine experience will endure beyond the moment of Job's justification by God. It is not the blessed immortality of the departed soul that is referred to here, but its actual entrance into and enjoyment of the higher life, however momentary its duration."

Some of the late Psalms (i.e. 16, 17, 49 and 73) seem to point in the direction of a communion with God as the supreme good of life. It might then be argued that this communion with God, being of the nature of God, would be as endless as God Himself. To hold a lesser view would be to assume that Yahweh, who was the Creator of the universe, was either less powerful than Sheol which He had created, or He possessed no interest in Sheol and those who dwelt there. Psalm 16 and 17 seem to suggest that in Yahweh there is a real and abiding good fellowship: "Thou wilt not leave my

<sup>1.</sup> Charles, R. H. -- A Critical Study of the Doctrine of a Future Life, p.70.

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<sup>1.</sup> Complete of the court legislate -- in . . . contribe of a

soul in Sheol, neither wilt thou suffer thy godly one to see corruption"(16:10). Here death appears as transcended: the thought of immortality is not clear if considered to be implied at all.

In Psalm 49 the fate of righteous man is contrasted with the life of wickedness. It would seem that the author is bringing out the idea that no matter what happens the true happiness of the righteous man lies in the fact that he still possesses the fellowship and companionship of God. Nothing could be of greater worth than this. Dean Knudson here presents the idea as relative to an after life. "Sheol is to be the future abode of the wicked. The righteous, on the other hand, are to dwell in heaven."2 The Dean is of the opinion that Psalms 49 and 73 make definite contributions to the idea of the future life. "Sheol is thus given a moral character, becoming a place of punishment. Heaven, on the other hand, as the home of God, becomes the eternal reward of the righteous."3 The predominant idea would seem to be that the greatest happiness obtainable for the righteous man is that regardless of everything he may still experience an intimate relationship with God. This would be operative in this life and would not of necessity involve futuristic

<sup>1.</sup> From Notes taken in Course "Psalms & Job" given by Dr. Pfeiffer.

<sup>2.</sup> Knudson, A.C. -- Religious Teachings of the Old Test., p.402.

<sup>3.</sup> Ibid, p. 403.

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<sup>1.</sup> Trem Notes twise in inside "Position 100" given by Mr. Prelies 2. Endson, A. I. - Enlighter languings of the did Test., p. 442.

connotations.

A popular eighth century assumption regarding
Yahweh was that He, of necessity, was always on the side
of His people. There would be a time when, regardless
of past experiences, Yahweh would assert Himself to the
degree that ultimate and final victory over all national
foes of Israel would be culminated. This idea consummated in the conception of the "Day of Yahweh". Charles says
that "the belief in this day was older than any written
prophecy." Characteristic of this conception was the
idea that intervention would come from without rather than
a process of evolution having its origin within.

The contribution of the early prophets to the idea of the "Day of Yahweh" was in the beginning a conception of the occasion producing a redeemed Israel but not through defeated foes but on the contrary allowing the foes to dominate to the point of producing in Israel a unified and complete dependence on Yahweh. The former conception of the "Day of Yahweh" had originated while Yahweh was merely a national God. With the consideration of Yahweh being a God of the Heavens and with an interest in the people of the world it became permissible for Yahweh to use the other nations to produce in Israel, His chosen nation, a loyalty

<sup>1.</sup> Charles, R.H.--A Critical Study of the Doctrine of a Future Life, p. 85.

A popular eighte jestery assocition regarding to the vice Yames was tast He, of necessity, was always on the wice of His people. There would be a time when, regarded at the people of jest experiences, Tamen would nessent Himself to the dances that withmake and final victory over all nestones force of letter would be authorated. Into the das consumented in the consumption of the 'Loc celled in Unio Buy was older than any written propases." Therefore was necessariant and their conservation was the time any written than the third that the transfer than any written the propases of evaluation neving like driving without return than a process of evaluation priving like driving arthur.

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<sup>1.</sup> Charles, h. .... driving Airboy of the Destrine of a

and dependence which could be realized only when Israel realized that Yahweh would allow them to become defeated and subdued solely for their ultimate good. Other nations will also suffer in proportion to their unrighteousness; but Israel, because of a special affiliation with Yahweh, will be visited with severest judgments (Amos 3:2). Hosea "there is no truth, nor mercy, nor knowledge of God in the land" (Hosea 4:1), so with Amos who holds that "judgment" will be directed against Israel. Isaiah and Micah give a new turn to the conception:at first they like Amos and Hosea held impending doom against the whole nation, but with the fall of Samaria (722 B.C.) the wrath of Yahweh becomes focused on Judah. As the idea develops, the purpose of Yahweh in "breaking Assyria" becomes the concern of all nations (Is. 14:25 f.), but is not extended to become a universal or world judgment. (The idea of judgment will be considered later in a succeeding chapter.)

The post-exilic nationalistic interests of Joel conceive the enemies of Judah as about to be brought together for the purpose of final and complete destruction(3:1-6). These enemies are of the nation in general. They are Gentiles upon whom Yahweh will sit in judgment. Prophecy appears to be changing into apocalypse, for here there is a decided lack of organic relation with the present situation. Apocalypse

case ranged by the report of nothing our of relies belong the The en there is no truth, not negot, not then leave of the and loses held in the thing doom against the whole nation, but namen's to stery out ( ) & Say) strange it list on stir considerer later in a succeeding ampier.)

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These enemies are of the nation in paneral. Incy are inside to the man fulness to the interest of the security of the

is definite in Daniel. When the need becomes sufficiently intense the "Ancient of Days" will present Himself and a tribunal shall be established (7:9): the powers of the world shall be overthrown (7:11 f.); jurisdiction over all surviving peoples will be placed under the direction of the righteous (7:14, 22, 27), who in turn will cause the destruction of all opposing powers (2:44).

So far, in this study, the nation is the religious unit. Previous to the time of the articulate prophets in Israel religious conceptions found no need for individualism. The relation between Yahweh and the nation Israel was made secure by a covenant of which the assenting parties were Yahweh on one side and Israel on the other. As long as Yahweh remained a national God there was no reason why He should concern Himself with individuals who were already part and parcel of His national concern. We now pass to a view of the hope of the nation.

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### Chapter IV.

#### The HOPE of the NATION

The Hope of the Nation is implied in the commonly accepted conception of the day of Yahweh. This hope appears to root back into the weakness and suffering which followed the dividing of the monarchy with all of its grievous political and religious results. The hope consisted of a better future for Israel which of course involved the rising of Israel above all of her enemies. Yahweh would distinctly perform a work of intervention, favoring Israel, and resulting in an ideal cosmic as well as an ideal human world. The process would be of universal extent, would involve disaster to all other peoples, but Israel most assuredly would become exalted, and as the chosen instrument of Yahweh would enter an age of abundant prosperity and peace.

The Messianic idea is bound up closely in the thought of the redemption of Israel, the new age, judgment, and a conception of a personal Messiah. In many considerations of the future, however, the personal aspect of the Messianic Hope is omitted; Yahweh or the idealized nation being inclusive of all suggestion of a Messiah. As to the origin of the Messianic idea Professor Smith claims that Ezekiel was "the father of the Messianic expectation." 1 Robinson

<sup>1.</sup> Smith, H. P. -- The Religion of Israel, p. 243.

The Mojo of the Halton is implied in the commonly acceptant to feet the same that hope appears to feet bear into the westness not suffering and followed the dividing of the monarchy with all of the grievous political and religious results. Whe hope consistes of a better future for larged which of course involved ine rising of lersel above all of her enamies. Yaiwen notes distinctly perform a work of interestion, larged alone world. The process of universal or as well as an ideal numen world. The process of universal extent, and feather to all other peoples, but larged extent, sould involve itsaster to all other peoples, but larger as at seasonedly could cancer as as as about of process of an income of a second cancer as as a special process in all others and a second of the could enter as as a special process in all others and a second of an acceptant of a special processity and center as as a special processity and center as a special processity and center

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<sup>1.</sup> Menth, M. f. s-Ine Heligron of James, n. 242.

says, "The figure of the Messiah, the kingly ruler who represents Yahweh, constitutes one element in the future Kingdom of God, rather than the agent by whom it is to be introduced, or the centre around which it will revolve. "1 It would seem that the Messiah is to be Yahweh's administrator. He is "clearly a development from the idea of the Hebrew king as "Yahweh's anointed, and more particularly from the idealized kingship of David, to whom the promise of perpetuity was thought to have been given."2 The "righteous branch" or "shoot" from the Davidic line, will in the bright future "reign as king and deal wisely, and shall execute judgment and justice in the land." (Jer. 17:25; 33:17). This ruler of the righteous kingdom which Yahweh will establish, is called "Wonderful Counsellor, Mighty God, A Father forever, Prince of Peace" (Is. 9:6 f.). The nation will live under His protection after a fashion which will guarantee both prosperity and security. There is, however, no hope of personal immortality here; the Messianic hope rendered this unnecessary.

The unknown prophet of the exile writing somewhere about 540 B.C. gives the most unique expression of the hope of the nation. The "Suffering Servant of Yahweh" interprets Israel as a missionary prophet to the

<sup>1.</sup> Robinson, H.W.--The Religious Ideas of the Old Test.p.198-9. 2. Ibid, p. 199.

represent a Yahwah, constitutes one signant in the in ure ringdor of God, rather than the dient by show it is be to sabi his more inamquiavab a viresio" si al . noser: the Hebrer ithis as "Yamweh's anolaton, ' and hore partials. ". nevig need even of Januari east vilusered to selmon will in the briefs future 'reign as sine and neal wisely, ". Und and no spitau, but dramber advesse I find in a ecurity. There is, however, no neps of persons binunce-

commance about 540 5.0. gives the most unique examension of the hope of the nation. The "Dutfering Dervent of the tops of the force of the following the same and an armicularly prophet to the

<sup>1.</sup> Mobinson, M.W. -- The Meligiote Tours of the Old Yest.p. 198-1.

Gentiles (Is.40-55). The world must be brought to the feet of Yahweh. This goal may only be reached through Israel sacrificially offering Himself for the sins of the world. Throughout these chapters the "Servant of Yahweh" becomes a common title for Israel. That the term belongs to the nation appears plainly in such a passage as "thou, Israel my servant, 'acob whom I have chosen, the seed of Abraham, my friend" (Is. 41;8). This title had previously been given to outstanding individual Israelites and to the nation (Gen. 26:24, Abraham; Jer. 30:10; Ezek. 28:25). Regardless of the failures of Israel in the past, the nation is the righteous servant of Yahweh; to this idea the kings of the nations also agree (Is.53).

throughout much of the Old Testament although the phrase itself is not found in Old Testament literature. A basis for the conception of the kingdom of God is laid in the creation story. The one God is the Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth, Creator, Lord, and Ruler of all things animate and inanimate. The ethical or spiritual kingdom of God rests on a basis of natural dominion (Ps.47:7; 103:19-22; 119:89-91; Is. 37:16; 29:11). The kingdom of Yahweh in its development passes through various literary

destribes (18.40-55). The world must be prought to the state of tarmen. This must may only de reached untough larged searificially offering Himself for the cine of the world. Throughout those empters the "servent of Yemman" becomes a common title for Israel, that the term belongs to the destron sprease punintly in such a passers as "thou, Israel my servent, "aonb raqm I have shown, the sceed of Abraham, my Triend" (Is. 41:3). This title had previously been given to outstanding. Individual Israelites and to upe nation (Dem. 26:28, individual Israelites and to upe nation (Dem. 26:28, individual Israelites and to upe nation (Dem. 26:28, individual Israelites and to upe nation as the rightenue servent of Yehmeh; to inte idea the kings of the cous servent of Yehmeh; to inte idea the kings of the cous servent of Yehmeh; to inte idea the kings of the cous servent of Yehmeh; to inte idea the kings of the

The idea of the standard of the partenent although the parase items in the standard to the leatenent although the parase items is not found in old leatenent literature. A busing for the conception of the Ringdom of Gow is build in the creation atory. The one Goo is the almaraty, lake of old in the number of the standard of the stand

stages, such as the patriarchal, Mosaic, Royal, and Prophetic. Abraham was called and covenants made with him constitute the beginning of a new era in the religious history of the race. According to Amos 9:7, Yahweh, the Supreme Ruler, all peoples, Syrians, Philistines, Ethiopians, as well as the tribes of Israel, were led and settled in their separate lands. The Holy one of Israel is conceived as seated on a lofty throne, surrounded with holy seraphs and the innumerable hosts of heaven. Naturally the highest embodiment of personal power, glory, and dominion known among men, namely, that of a splendid royalty, was employed as the best figure of the glory of the Heavenly King; and so we have the impressive apocalyptic eschatological portraiture of Yahweh sitting upon his throne high and lifted up (Is.6:1-3; Ezek. 1:26-28; I K. 22:19). The mighty Monarch of earth and heaven is enthroned in inexpressible majesty and glory, with no power either above or below the heavens comparable to Him. In Dan. 7:9-12 Yahweh is pictured on His throne of fiery flames, with ten thousand times ten thousand ministering before Him. His execution of judgment is as a stream of fire which issues from His presence and devours His adversaries. Zeph. 3:8 also represents Him as "gathering the nations and assembling the kingdoms" in order that He may pour out upon them the fire of His fierce anger.

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In prophecy, psalm and historical narrative, there are numerous declarations of Yahweh entering into judgment with the nations and also with His own people. The unmistakable doctrine in all these scriptural writings is that Yahweh is the supreme Judge and Ruler of the world. over throw of mighty cities and kingdoms, like Nineveh and Babylon is a way that He has of executing judgment on the world. At first, judgment was to be of local consequence, and was held out as an impending political calamity. Later the eschatological element became uppermost. The most important step in this later development was made by the prophet Zephaniah a little more than one hundred years after the time of Amos. He pictured the approaching calamity as apocalyptic and universal (1:14-18; 3:8), involving all mankind and even the birds of the air and the fish of the sea. Ezekiel and later apocalyptists developed the idea of Yahweh completely and universally overthrowing all of His enemies, but the essential nature of the conception changed but little. The eighth-century prophets speak of earthquake (Amos 2:13-16; 8:8), overflowing scourge (Isa. 28:15), pestilence (Amos 6:9 f.), a devouring fire (1:4, 7; 7:4), and an eclipse (Amos 8:9). Possibly the figure of the eclipse, better than the others, suggests the idea of universality. The whole idea of judgment is bound up very closely with the conception

in prophesy, pasts out bistorious margative, there in Climeter withour man better the author to said with the out the establish nature of the conception and month of the 6:8 2.), a Seventing fire (1:4, 7: V:4), see an estipac the others, surpressed the tree of entrepolity, int winds

of the "day of Yahweh".

According to Jeremiah, judgment and the proceedings of the day of Yahweh will be succeeded by the restoration of Israel (23:7-8; 24:5-6). The outlook is hopeful. The process of restoration, however, will be conditioned by the fact that Yahweh requires repentance and a change of heart (3:13, 19-25; 24:7). The effect of this change will be that each member of the nation will gladly respond to the will of Yahweh.

In Joel (about 400 B.C.) one element in the hope of the nation is expressed in the idea that through the process of judgment all Gentiles will be annihilated. The enemies of Judah are conceded to be no immediate foe but all nations in general. These are to be brought together for the purpose of being annihilated (3:1-2). the valley of Jehoshaphat Yahweh will sit in Judgment upon them (3:12). This is the nearest idea of a world judgment outside of Daniel 7:9-10. This judgment is not impartial, however, because Yahweh pleads the case for Israel (3:2). This is not a process of sifting Israel but is a method of justifying the position of Israel. must be noted here that this Israel is not the actual but the purified and transformed Israel (2:28-29). The nation is sufficiently pure to entertain the presence of Yahweh; this could not be the case with any other nation, they must

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perish without the slightest possibility of judgment or sentence being revoked. Joel is essentially apocalyptic in character: there appears to be no direct organic relation to national or religious needs as was conceived by the earlier prophets.

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### Chapter V.

#### The QUESTION of PERSONAL IMMORTALITY

Previous to the period of the Exile there are no traces of a doctrine of immortality. As we have seen there were certain ideas held in common regarding the state after death and the abode of the deceased; but these are of little value as far as the religion of Yahweh is concerned.

Professor Burney suggests that there is in the "J" document Genesis story of the fall of man the rudiments of a doctrine of immortality. The tree of life which grew in Eden would have insured for Adam and Eve the possibility of "living forever" (Gen. 3:22). It should be noted that this makes no suggestion of a life of personal immortality after death. At best it may merely suggest life without death; that is, long life. Burney also points out the cases of Enoch and Elijah being translated. The idea here is that there is a possibility of the perpetuation of life; although here again the idea of life after death is not involved, for in the case of both characters they merely continued to live on without experiencing death. This is an early conception, springing from a time when Yahweh was believed to exercise

<sup>1.</sup> Burney, C.F. -- Israel's Hope of Immortality, p.20.

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<sup>1.</sup> Burney, 1.2. -- Israel's Tope of Impolitate, p. 20.

influence and authority over persons on the earthly side of Sheol only. If Elijah and Enoch had been allowed to die they would have gone to Sheol and would there be beyond the control of Yahweh, their God. The only type of immortality here revealed is that which exists before death, not after it. The essential element implied here is that these characters were lifted into the society of Yahweh and were privileged to experience fellowship with Him.

Upon becoming deceased man's flesh was laid in the family grave and allowed to decompose. Man had then ceased to exist with the exception of an element of personality which descended into Sheol. This element which detaches itself from the corpse is as an image or outline of the former man, is invisible, and appears only to living people through the avenue of dreams or when called up by a necromancer. (For a description of the dichotomous and trichotomous theories, see former chapter.) Professor Kautzsch says that "in spite of its very loose connection with genuine Jahwism, the conception of Sheol-like the Hades -belief of the Greeks and all the cognate phenomena in other religions—contains an important religious feature. The tenacity with which it maintains itself all through the centuries, notwithstanding its irreconcilability

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with the prevailing anthropological presuppositions, is a strong testimony to the fact that man's natural way of thinking revolts at the notion of a complete annihilation of the living personality, even if it has to content itself with a sorry substitute for a real continuation of life. Even in this there are fruitful germs of a later doctrine of immortality, and we shall afterwards see that these were not wanting also in the soil of Jahwism". 1

The prophets took a negative attitude toward the popular belief in Sheol; neither were they interested in necromancy or the cult of the dead. Dean Knudson agrees with Kautzsch when he states that "while the popular heathen conception did not form the starting point of the later belief in personal immortality, it was still not without its positive value. Superstitious and idolatrous though it was, it had accustomed the popular mind to the thought of existence after death, and in so far had prepared the way for the later and higher faith."<sup>2</sup>

It must be kept in mind that the early Israelite was not interested in individual retribution. The wicked man might prosper and the righteous man might meet with disaster without particular alarm among his fellows. Yahweh

<sup>1.</sup> Kautzsch, E. - Article in Dictionary of the Bible, edited by J. Hastings, extra vol.(1904)p.669.

<sup>2.</sup> Knudson, A.C. - Religious Teachings of the Old Test.p.394.

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 was conceived to be interested in all individuals as a national body but He maintained no interest in individuals as such. Here we need to recall the fact that the family or the tribe was the religious unit; the individual was, even in the method of Ancestor Worship, but a part of a unified group. The individual in being a portion of a group was somehow intimately associated with his own family -- ancestors and descendants. Hence it was held that Yahweh would visit the evil and the good of the fathers upon the heads of the children (Ex. 20:5; Lev. 20:5; Jos. 7:24; I Sam. 3:13). The community or tribe would reap good or evil because of the individual; the individual himself would not be rewarded (Gen. 12:17; 20:18; Exod. 12:29). The mercy of Yahweh was considered when He allowed the evil-doer to pass into death, and held the punishment for the son (I Kings 11:12; 21:29).

When the eighth century prophets arrived on the scene they directed their messages to the nation. They maintained guilt to be patterned after a collective fashion, the punishment for which would be visited upon the group, not upon the individual. With the coming of Jeremiah, however, a type of individualism came into being. A popular proverb of the period was "The fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge" (Jer.31:29).

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nased they directed their measures to the notion. Suey contrated they directed their measures and the notion. Suey contrated must be se patiented estar a societies seening. The most for which could be assist unto the stoke. The notion the stoke, not type the individualist came into detail a service, here even a type of sedtribublish came into detail a seven entrated the seven entrated and the contrate new estem entrated.

This view came to have bad results. The overthrow of the nation, according to this view, was not the fault of those involved but was the fault of their ancestors. They were victims of misfortune, and nothing could be done about it; for the goodness of the individual, under such circumstances, could not in anywise prevent the calamity which came upon the nation. Jeremiah began to attest that the time had come "when they should say no more," "The fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge; but every one shall die for his own iniquity" (Jer. 31:29, 30). According to this new departure Yahweh was to establish a new relationship which would be between Himself and the individual. This new relationship would take preference over the old order of Yahweh's relationship with the nation (Jer. 31:31-34). Henceforth the individual and not the nation was to be the religious unit. According to this new conception given prominence by Jeremiah, the individual was very dependent upon the character of Yahweh for his needed transformation and purification. The individual could not perform this for himself any more than the Ethiopian could change his skin or the leopard his spots (Jer.13:22-23). The law of Deuteronomy had merely led to a legal righteousness; what was necessary was the obedience of the individual to God's law: and that law must be written in the heart (Jer.31:31-34).

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The type of worship now necessary must be true and spiritual (Jer.11:20; 17:10).

Ezekiel adopted and carried on the principles of
Jeremiah's individualism. He teaches that every soul belongs
to Yahweh, and Yahweh is immediately and directly interested
in each one (Ezek. 18:4). The prophet exclaims on behalf
of Yahweh: "Behold all souls are mine." The principle
here involved is that regardless of his own past (Ezek.18:
21-28) or the sins of his fathers (Ezek. 18:20; 14:12-20).
the individual rests on his own personal responsibility.
The individual has the opportunity of achieving righteousness,
and judgment is daily executed by God. It is of note that
Ezekiel prophesied that no righteous man would fall in the
downfall of Jerusalem (Ezek. 9:3-6), but later he declared
that the righteous and the wicked would both be destroyed.

It is evident that Ezekiel's idea of individual retribution became securely fixed in the consciousness of the nation. We find these conceptions through much of the materials contained in the popular books; the Psalter and Book of Proverbs. The idea in the Psalms seems to be that the righteous may suffer much, but Yahweh will deliver the righteous man from all affliction. All of the bones of the righteous man are kept, not one of them is broken, but evil slays the wicked (Ps. 34:18,19 ff.; 37:28 etc). According

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to Proverbs the righteous and the wicked are to receive their rewards on earth (Prov. 11:31). The outcome of righteousness is life, but the outcome of wickedness is death (Prov. 2:21; 10:2; 11:19; 15:24f.; 19:16). The great difficulty with these conceptions was that with a program of retribution in this life there was no way of solving the problem which pertained to the prosperity of the wicked and the suffering of the righteous. As long as this view was rigidly maintained there was no opportunity for the development of any adequate conception of immortality.

The Book of Job is abundant in pictures of the darkness of the outlook pertaining to the possibility of a future life (chapters 3, 7, 14). These very pictures, however, seem to be the stepping-stones upon which the spiritual nature of man rises up toward a position where a life beyond the grave becomes possible. In 14:13-15 job is addressing Yahweh:

"Oh that Thou wouldest hide me in Sheol,

That Thou wouldest keep me secret, until

Thy wrath be past,

That Thou wouldest appoint me a set time and remember me!

If a man die, shall he live again?

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"All the days of my warfare would I wait,

Till my relief should come.

Thou shouldst call, and I would answer Thee.

Thou wouldst have a desire to the work of

Thy hands."

Here the picture is of a weary warrior longing for the day when relief will be sent him. Following this Job "dwells longingly upon the joy with which, if it could be anticipated, he would look forward to the sound of Yahweh's voice, calling him to a renewed state of fellowship with Him". In 19:25-27 it would seem that Job, almost in desperation and but for an instant, seizes on to the conviction that even if relentless friends have failed him there is One who will act as his Vindicator and declare his innocence in the face of the world. In this gleam of inspiration there seems to be a hope of assurance even in the moment when his physical bodily strength is about to become exhausted. Burney states that "this passage is the highest venture of faith contained in the book of Job. The idea of a future life-using the expression in the sense of an existence after death not wholly removed from the presence of God--has been hinted at, as we have seen earlier in the book, though to the writer it seemed beyond the reach of aspiration.

<sup>1.</sup> Burney, C.F. - Israel's Hope of Immortality, p.51.

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Here it bursts into expression as a conviction -- something, it is true, far below the Christian ideal, as the writer looks forward merely to a disembodied condition -- 'without my flesh', and there is no hint that the vision of God is hoped for as a perpetuity, or indeed as anything more than a passing realization of the vindication by God of the speaker's integrity. Still, it was a great inspiration, a great venture of faith, and it forms a step upwards in the direction of the fuller light". Charles maintains that "We have here a new doctrine of the soul. The soul is no longer cut off from all communion with God on death, and shorn of all its powers, even of existence, as Job and his contemporaries had been taught to conceive it, but is regarded as still capable of the highest spiritual activities, though without the body. - - - Thus the new and lofty idea of the after-life has arisen, not from the old animistic conceptions, but amid their ruins. "2 So much for the Book of Job.

As regards any definite formulation of a belief in a life beyond the grave, we find little or nothing in the Book of Psalms. Some scholars have held that in Psalms 16, 17, 49 and 73 there are gleamsof a future life. Dean Knudson holds that in Psalms 49 and 73 "we have definite

<sup>1.</sup> Burney, C.F. - Israel's Hope of Immortality, p.54.

<sup>2.</sup> Charles, R.H.-A Critical History of the Doctrine of a Future Life, p. 71.

Lead of the state to the time and the supplication of the second of the seco The same and the special state of the same and the same of the sam statements relative to the after-life". Doctor H. H.

Pfeiffer says pertaining to Ps. 16:10, "This is the closest approach to a doctrine of immortality found in the Psalter".

Previous to the time of Daniel the pious Jew had no more expectation for the future than is here held forth.

Positive material dealing with the question of immortality in the Old Testament is meagre. In Job a strong aspiration emerges and shoots upward but only to fall short of any real spiritual conviction. Considering the evidence of the Psalms as doubtful it may still be held, however, that in Job alone there is sufficient evidence to prove that even if it were only to a small group the idea had come so near fruition that future conceptions built upon it could easily foresee the destined goal of a blessed future life for the righteous individual in Israel. This glimmer of a personal immortality coupled to the idea of the coming Messianic Kingdom became the ground upon which the doctrine of a resurrection becomes logical.

<sup>1.</sup> Knudson, A.C. - Religious Teachings of the Old Test., p.402.

<sup>2.</sup> Pfeiffer, R. H. - Class Notes in Course "Psalms and Job".

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# Chapter VI.

# ESCHATOLOGY of the NATION and the DOCTRINE of PERSONAL IMMORTALITY SYNTHESIZING in the CONCEPTION of the RESURRECTION

Previous to the time of the Exile the doctrines of national interest and consequence, and the doctrines dealing with the possibilities of the individual, appear to pursue independent channels as they flow onward in Old Testament tradition. After the time of the Exile these independent streams of conceptual thought come much nearer together and are found exerting considerable influence over each other. It is not until the close of the fourth century or the early part of the third century, however, that these two streams have influenced each other to the point of emerging. What now takes place is that the hope of a blessed immortality of the faithful is held along side of the coming Messianic Kingdom and in order that the two conceptions become harmonized and the righteous individual be privileged to experience the joys of the Messianic Kingdom it becomes necessary to raise the individual from Sheol, if he is to be on hand for the occasion.

The Messianic Hope laid claim to the consciousness of the nation and at the same time the claims of the indi-

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vidual had to be appreciated. These individual conceptions had become so positive in nature that they could not be brushed aside from the religious thinking of the day. Consequently the future could not be mapped out without adequate consideration of both the coming Messianic Kingdom and the participation of the righteous individual who had played his part in Israel. "The righteous individual and the righteous nation should be blessed together—or rather the righteous individual should ultimately be recompensed—not with a solitary immortality in heaven or elsewhere, but with a blessed resurrection life together with his brethren in the coming Messianic Kingdom."

It has been pointed out that there is no definite permanent establishment of a doctrine of individual immortality in the Old Testament. This fact makes it all the easier to conceive the idea that the individual should not expect to be blessed outside of the group. His blessed future becomes probable and possible through the realization of the entire religious community.

In Isaiah 26:1-19 the author portrays the construction of the new kingdom as a strong city, with salvation as walls and bulwarks, and gates which open to allow the righteous nation to "enter in" (26:1-2). The nation is amall in numbers, consequently the righteous dead shall

<sup>1.</sup> Charles, R. H. - A Critical History of the Doctrine of a Future Life, p. 126.

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<sup>1.</sup> Charles, S. H. - A Tritted History of the Legistes of

rise and join with the nation on the joyous occasion. Charles holds with the scholars Duhm, and Cheyne that Is. 26:19 should read as follows: "Thy dead men (Israel!) shall arise, and the inhabitants of the dust shall awake and shout for joy; for a dew of lights is thy dew, and the earth shall produce the shades." J. A. Selbie says that "compared with Is.26:14 this verse must be understood as a prayer for the resurrection of individuals".2 would seem that in this passage there is the union of national and individual aspects. Difficulty may be encountered at this point if it is considered that at this time the conception was still being held that Yahweh exerted no influence over Sheol: the abode of the righteous dead. If in Sheol they were shut out from the influence of Yahweh, how could they be restored to a bodily existence for participation in the Messianic Kingdom? If it be held that Yahweh had already evolved to the point of being a God of universal history and a God of the universe, then it becomes safe to conjecture regarding the power of Yahweh over those existing in Sheol. In view of this latter conception the passage in Isaiah makes possible a resurrection to a life of organic and living relationship with the righteous community on earth. The resurrection, however, is a

<sup>1.</sup> Charles, R. H.-A Critical History of the Doctrine of a Future Life, p. 127.

<sup>2.</sup> Hastings, James, Dict. of the Bible, vol.1V, p. 232.

<sup>1.</sup> mayles, A. A.-A driftsol Mathry of the Distrine of a Mature Cile, p. 1507.

resurrection for the righteous only, for the wicked should not be allowed any indulgences in the good things of the coming Messianic Age. This limitation of the resurrection to the righteous only is the primitive form of the conception.

Because of the resemblances of Jewish doctrine of the resurrection to that of the Mazdean doctrine, and because of its late appearance in Israel, Knudson says that evidence suggests that the teaching was borrowed from the Persians. Charles, however, holds that because of the spiritual content of the Jewish doctrine it could not have been produced from the Mazdean doctrine, even if the Mazdean doctrine existed previous to the Jewish doctrine. Charles also holds that the "spiritual form of the resurrection doctrine is the genuine product of Jewish inspiration; for all its factors are indigenous to Jewish thought."

In Hosea a religious transformation of character appears to be a spiritual resurrection: "After two days will he revive us: on the third day he will raise us up so that we shall live before him" (Hosea 6:2). A political restoration of Israel is evident in Ezekiel where the dry bones are restored (Ezek. 37). The restored people are to be God's people (Ezek. 37:13); they will be cleansed from

<sup>1.</sup> Knudson, A.C.-Religious Teachings of the Old Testament, p. 405.

<sup>2.</sup> Charles, R.H.-A Critical History of the Doctrine of a Future Life, p.128.

<sup>3.</sup> Ibid, p.128.

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all sins and transgressions (Ezek.37:23); they will be governed by one of the Davidic line, and they will walk in the statutesand judgments of Yahweh (Ezek. 37:24,25); an everlasting covenant of peace will be made between Yahweh and them, and Yahweh will dwell with them forever (37:26,27). Here in Ezekiel the resurrection is to be national in character and assumes a moral regeneration of the people.

In Isaiah 26, the righteous individual is, to be restored sometime after death to a state of communion with God and with the righteous community. Thus, according to this passage, the essential elements of the resurrection doctrine consist of this process of double restoration to the communion with God and to communion with the righteous, faithful community.

Previous to the establishment of the Messianic kingdom idea the righteous dead must abide in Sheol, apart from the influence of Yahweh. In a later period when the idea of Sheol was given up as the abode of the righteous, and the conception of Heaven or Paradise taken on as the abiding place of the righteous dead, death then made no gap in the fellowship and communion of the righteous with God. As a result of this feature in the new program the first element of the resurrection was no longer subject to

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any condition of time. The second element, however; that of restoration to the righteous community, may not be realized until the coming New Kingdom became actual either in this world or in the world to come.

A further conception of this resurrection ideal may be found in the restoration to the communion with God and communion with the righteous community, if considered to be not after death but in this life. This would be completely within the bounds of a spiritual resurrection ideal, and would consist of a purging process by means of which the individual would be made acceptable for a new life with God and in the community of the faithful. Without attempting to remove the fact of death from this resurrection ideal it easily becomes evident that this new resurrection life begins to be experienced immediately after death. It may not be fully consummated, however, until the righteous community becomes established. It is only in this second essential aspect of the double restoration idea that the temporal element will have to be considered at all.

An indication that the resurrection doctrine was current is found in Psalm 88. The psalmist says that his life draws near unto Sheol (v.3); he asks: "Wilt thou show wonders to the dead?" "Shall they that are deceased arise

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A further conception of this resurroused limit to the found in the restoration to the community, if considered end communities, if considered to be not after the total into the time. This would recommissed the consideration of the mount of the constant o

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and praise thee?" (v.10) In verse 5 the idea of the resurrection is completely rejected; "Like the slain that lie in the grave whom thou rememberest no more, and they are cut off from thy hand." Singularly, it would seem, this psalm stands out, expressing a negative, pessimistic, despairing attitude.

From the Maccabean period comes the Book of Daniel, possibly about a century later than the apocalypse of Isaiah 24-27. In Dan. 12:2 it is declared that "many of them that sleep in the land of dust shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt." In this it may be easily detected that the resurrection doctrine has undergone a complete transformation. Previous to this conception resurrection was to be experienced only by the righteous individual who was a part of the righteous group in Israel. Now the good and the bad in Israel are to be resurrected. The change in the doctrine is considerable. If the resurrection is to be extended to the wicked as well as the righteous the original significance of the doctrine has become obsolete or else forgotten. The former conception was that the righteous would be restored to the communion with God after having been broken off by death. The status of the resurrection doctrine in Israel now is that all the members of the nation, and praise thest (v.10) in verse 5 to 10st of the relation research respected: "into another state of the fact of

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both wicked and righteous, will become restored, and as a national body will be presented before God for judgment. It is quite evident that the author of Daniel was thoroughly inoculated with the idea that the righteousness of God was of a retributive character. If this doctrine of the resurrection as found in Daniel is primarily of Jewish origin and not due to Mazdean influences it must be deduced that in the mind of the author Sheol lay beyond the boundary line of God's jurisdiction to the degree that although He could raise the shades from Sheol He could not influence them toward either good or evil as long as they remained in Sheol. Hence it follows that those in the abode of Sheol must be resurrected to a life on earth if they are to receive a reward of the nature of either good or evil. This doctrine of the resurrection, considered in its broadest aspects, is seen to include Israelites, and Israelites alone. Moreover, in Daniel, the resurrection ushers in the Messianic Kingdom (12:1).

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# Chapter VII.

### SUMMARY and CONCLUSION

There appears to be three stages in the development of the idea of immortality as found in the Old Testament. First, immortality is achieved for the individual for the purpose of enjoying the Messianic Age; Second, the idea of a perpetual and endless communion with God; Third, the immortality of the individual and of the nation through the potential capacity of the resurrection of the dead.

The chief factors of the doctrine of the resurrection are the doctrine of an individual immortality of the right-eous, and the doctrine of the Messianic Kingdom. With the evolution of the resurrection doctrine, however, the idea of individual immortality falls into the background. The righteous individual came to look forward to a blessed future for which he was eligible on the grounds that he was a part of the national body.

The hope in a double resurrection included the idea of restoration to the Communion with God, and also restoration to the righteous community. In its earlier stages the doctrine of resurrection included only righteous Israelites but later became extended to also include the wicked members of the nation.

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As these stages of development are traced it becomes clear that the religious life of the individual Hebrew was subordinate to the life of the nation. In Hosea and Ezekiel the nation is conceived as capable of life and death; and the conception of resurrection is largely figurative, in which the recovery of national life is greatly desired. The prophecy of national resurrection in Is. 53:10 is of a peculiar character. The Servant of Yahweh is presumably Israel idealized, but is described in so individual a way that if a personal conception were given immediately the resurrection prophecy takes on individual aspects. next step in the developing conception of resurrection is the idea of individual and national considerations appearing together is Is. 26. In Dan. 12 the idea of the resurrection of individuals stands out more clearly -- this, of course, comes from a late period, that of Maccabean times. Here also is introduced the idea of the resurrection of wicked Israelites, who, along with the righteous, will appear for judgment before God, in anticipation of the Messianic Age.

It seems that the more glorious the Messianic Hope becomes the greater the need of the dead Israelites being present for the fulfilment of that hope.

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resting upon him, and with apparent disregard as far as Yahweh is concerned. If he goes to Sheol he will be away from the influence of Yahweh. Consequently he rises to the hope that his "Vindicator" lives; that he will be released from Sheol (14:13 ff.); and that he himself may see his God (19:25). This implies death and a resurrection after death.

As we have searched for conceptions of immortality and resurrection as disclosed in the literature of the Old Testament we have estimated the contributions of Semitic Animism and Ancestor Worship; the abode of the deceased; general eschatological features, and the hope of the nation, as these have both directly and indirectly contributed to the possibilities of our thesis.

Throughout the survey it is evident that to a very large extent the content of these doctrines is determined by the Israelitish and Jewish conception of Yahweh. As long as the influence and jurisdiction of Yahweh was conceived as limited to a life in this world only, there could be no possibility for an individual immortality. When Israel attained a real monotheism, however, even to Yahweh being conceived as God of the universe, then came the opportunity for moral speculation in the realm of future possibilities.

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The period of the Exile undoubtedly contributed to the thought of the individual. The result was that the individual came to be considered as a potential religious unit belonging nevertheless to a larger body--"the chosen people" of Yahweh.

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